Pastor Wrangel's Trip to the Shore[1]

Translated from the Swedish and edited by

CARL MAGNUS ANDERSON[2]

Introduction

The Reverend Carl Magnus Wrangel was *prost* (dean, or provost) of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in America from 1758 to 1768. This translation of a section of his diary deals with a ten-day, 220-mile trip across New Jersey, from Philadelphia to the Atlantic Ocean and back, in October 1764.

Born into an old noble family in 1727, Wrangel received his education both in Sweden and abroad. He began his preaching career while still a student at the University of Uppsala; his oratorical prowess won him the favor of the king, who in 1756 called him to be Court Chaplain, even though he was not yet ordained. With royal sanction he continued his studies in Germany, where he obtained the degrees of Master of Philosophy (Greifwald, 1756) and Doctor of Theology (Gottingen, 1757). In 1758 he was ordained into the holy ministry and appointed Pastor of the Gloria Dei Church in Wicaco (now a part of Philadelphia) and Dean of all the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America.

In the spring of 1759 Wrangel landed in America, where he soon became embroiled in a series of controversies. The church organization was in a state of partial dissolution as a result of differences between the members and the clergy as well as differences among the pastors themselves. Though described as having a warm, religious nature, Wrangel was somewhat lofty in his dealings with subordinates, and this may well have contributed to a movement to have him recalled. When the recall came and Wrangel returned to Sweden in 1768, however, the action was deeply resented by the members of the congregations, who had persuaded him to remain in defiance of a similar order two years earlier.

Wrangel's accomplishments in America were impressive. Two new churches within the Wicaco parish were established, St. James in Kingsessing and Christ Church in Upper Merion, and Wrangel himself built a school in Wicaco. He has been referred to as the "greatest in the long succession of Swedish pastors" in New Sweden[3] and as "the most distinguished Swedish schoolman on the Delaware."[4] He was responsible for a significant awakening among the spiritually neglected immigrants and often preached before great crowds under the open sky. This contributed to his unpopularity, however, for his more conservative colleagues regarded him as a revivalist.

At a hearing in Sweden upon his return, Wrangel was completely cleared of all charges, and he continued to distinguish himself as a leader of the church until his death in 1786.[5]

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[1] Originally published in "New Jersey History", Vol. LXXXVII, Number One, Whole Number 336, Spring 1969. Two additional bracketed footnotes have been added to the original 1969 article.

[2] Mr. Anderson is Secretary of Merck & Co., Inc., and an enthusiastic student of Swedish-American history.

[3] Abdel R. Wentz, *A Brief History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 13.

[4] *Swedes in America*, ed. Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin (New Haven, 1938), p. 58

[5] Wrangel described his career after his return to Sweden in a letter to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg from Sala, Sweden, dated June 15, 1784: "I suppose you have heard, that after my return I have been called to bear the Testimony of the ever Blessed Saviour before a Court and the Great of this World. Instead of riding on horseback, I have been obliged to drive in stately Coaches, but believe me Sir, I have always had my heart and Spirit in America and all the Honour and Favour of the World have been as nothing to me against the pleasure of labour with the Lord's singular Blessing, you being my Fellow-labourer and sufferer. I am now settled in a very comfortable manner, in a very pleasant part of the County, having two Parishes and 4 assistant Ministers and 16 Congregations under mine inspection as Provost. I keep my Station at Court as great Almoner and Captain to the most Honble Order of Seraphim, but the traveling several times a year for 6 years hurted so much my health, that 1 was obliged to ask for my Dismission. During my stay at Court, I endeavour'd by the Grace of God to do as much good as possible, more especially after the great Revolution, in which I was present and constantly about

Despite his outstanding achievements and his colorful career in America, and in contrast to his friend and co-worker, the German Muhlenberg,[6] Wrangel seems to have been all but neglected by American historians. A comprehensive study of his life and work by Nils Jacobsson has been published in Sweden, however, under the title, *Bland Svenskamerikaner och Gustavianer*[7] (Among Swedish-Americans and Gustavians).

The following translation was suggested by Adrian C. Leiby,[8] who, for purposes of his own research, wanted to obtain more information on Wrangel's career than was available from American sources. Through the good offices of Tell G. Dahllof[9] of Stockholm, Wrangel's day book was located and a typescript copy obtained.[10] From this the following translation was made.[11]

C. M. A.

No. 3 DAY BOOK FOR THE YEAR 1764

October. After several trips, I heard through the Sheriff of Gloucester County, in western New Jersey, Mr. Price,[12] that several Swedes lived in his county. In this country the sheriff is the county's most important judicial officer. He is elected annually by the people and commissioned by the Governor. His duties are in some respects like those of a crown commissioner. They also resemble those of a bailiff in Sweden, in that all executions from the Governor and other courts are in his hands. But in other cases his authority and powers are much greater, since he appoints all those who under English rule are known as jurymen. They are, in this country, the real judges in both criminal and other matters. When a lawsuit is tried these jurors are chosen by the sheriff from among the permanent residents of the county, and their authority is limited to the case brought before them. Because the people's freedom and security depend on the honesty of these men, the sheriff's business, under English rule, must necessarily be very important.

But these Swedes lived at the seaside, at a place called Egg Harbor, abandoned and completely without the means of grace, inasmuch as no Swedish minister had visited them since the time of the blessed Pastor Tranberg.[13] I had brought up this important subject at a ministerial conference in the Christina[14] parish

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the Kings Person, not without great danger in the beginning." - *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg,* trans. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia, 1942-1958), III, 620-62l.

[6] Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) is considered the patriarch of American Lutheranism. Wrangel called on him at his home in New Providence (Trappe), Pennsylvania, on August 24, 1760, and the two quickly became fast friends and co-workers. An appraisal of Wrangel's influence in America is found in a long letter which Muhlenberg wrote to him on October 22, 1784, sixteen years after Wrangel's return to Sweden. Muhlenberg was obviously impressed by Wrangel's "cultivated reason, enlightened understanding, sanctified will, pure conscience, uprightness of heart, [and] gifts of body and soul." Describing him as a "highly gifted theologian," Muhlenberg paid tribute to Wrangel's studiousness and energy, his "meekness of spirit and humility of heart," and he acknowledged the "good, fatherly advice in many a trial and difficulty," and the help and backing of his "intimate friend" over a period of nearly nine years. He particularly mentioned Wrangel's work in reconstructing decaying and strife-torn congregations, his "special pains to establish good schools," his laying of "foundation stones for new Swedish and German church buildings," as well as his "powerful sermons" and his "exemplary life." Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals, III,* 622-23, n. 3.

[7] Stockholm, 1953.

[8] Mr. Leiby is the author of the New Jersey Tercentenary book, *The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers of New Jersey* (Princeton, 1964), and of other works on New Jersey history.

[9] Mr. Dahllof is editor of the Swedish magazines *Industria* and *Sweden NOW*. He has been knighted for his extensive collection of Swedish books about America.

[10] The original is in the Provincial Archives at Uppsala (Uppsala Landsarkivet). Wrangel's use of an "old" Swedish and his difficult handwriting may have led to an occasional error in transcribing or translating.

[11] The translator is also indebted to his brother and sister-in-law, Burnett and Maria (Pia) Anderson, for aid in checking the translation.

[12] Sheriff Price has been identified by Mrs. Kurt F. Hoelle of the Gloucester County Historical Society as Robert Friend Price, who "removed [from Haddonfield] to Gloucester [City]" in 1758 and was commissioned high sheriff of Gloucester County in 1763. Price was elected to represent Gloucester County in the Assembly in 1769 and again in 1776. He died in 1782.

[13] The Reverend Peter Tranberg (? -1748) was installed as Pastor of the Raccoon (Swedesboro) congregation in 1726. He served both the Raccoon and Penns Neck (now Churchtown) congregations from 1728 to 1741, when he was transferred to Wilmington. For a while the only Swedish pastor in America, he traveled to Egg Harbor and other distant places, preaching to the Germans and English as well as the Swedes.

[14] Wilmington.

where it was decided that since Vice Pastor Wicksell[15] had undertaken to visit the Swedes along the Mullica River, and those Swedes living in Manatany[16] were now provided with a missionary by the English Church, the Ministerium should extend its loving compassion to this abandoned lot by having each of the other pastors visit them once a year. Wherewith I took it upon myself, in the Lord's name, to make a start. After giving them early notice of my intention through the above-mentioned sheriff and having fixed the day of my first sermon among them, I undertook the journey in company with the sheriff, who had offered to be my companion. The trip, under God's merciful and gracious protection, happened in the following way.

October 7. After I had, in the forenoon, preached in Kings Ess,[17] I visited a woman of my congregation who was deathly sick and administered Holy Communion to her. After a very consoling conversation with her, to the edification of my soul, and a moving farewell, since by human estimate I did not expect to see her again in mortal life, I returned home. I left my house at eight o'clock in the evening and crossed the Delaware River in glorious moonlight. At ten o'clock I arrived at my companion's house, two English miles on the other side of the river, from whence we were to leave early the next morning. This man [Price], who was one of those who had invited me to preach in Gloucester, and who, through God's infinite mercy, had begun, with fear and trembling, to find that he might be saved, received me with joy and love. I enjoyed an hour with these people in conversation about the one thing needful.[18] I addressed my words particularly to their oldest daughter, aged fifteen. According to accounts given me earlier, she had been visibly moved by God's grace during my sermons in Gloucester and she now deeply longed to be baptized, since she had not yet received this sacrament. I perceived in her as well as in the others both attentiveness and emotion. After conducting prayer we went to our rest.

October 8. Early in the morning, after we together had invoked God's merciful blessing upon us during the journey, and had eaten breakfast, we betook ourselves to the road and traveled ten miles to a German by the name of Nyman, where we rested. This man, who was born in Alsace, near Strasbourg, and who has been in this country for thirty years, has through diligence and hard work acquired a fine property, which my companion estimated to be worth a thousand pounds. He has recently established a sawmill there, and has transformed a swamp into a meadow, which has considerably increased the value of his property. He has a heavy cross to bear, in that his wife is out of her mind but this burden has been so lightened by the merciful God that He has bestowed upon him promising children, sons and daughters, who serve him with diligence and toil.

This man [Nyman] and his children are conscientious attendants at my weekly services in Gloucester. The children understand a little German but speak only English. He has gone to great expense on his children's education in reading and writing, in that he has kept a schoolmaster in his house, but in matters of Christian faith a great ignorance still reigns among them. I admonished him to try to instruct them in the Lutheran faith and promised, to that end, to provide him with the catechism in English. None of the children, though they are now fully grown, have been to Holy Communion in the German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia.

After we had been there [at Nyman's] for an hour we continued our journey a further ten miles to a tavern owned by a man named Scull.[19] As we went along, I tried, in conversation with my companion, to find out about the condition of the people I was about to visit, so that I might learn how to suit my speech and intercourse with them according to their circumstances. Because he was well acquainted with their condition, since he often stayed among them, his observations were of no little benefit to me.

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[15] The Reverend Johan Wicksell (1727-1800) became Vice Pastor at Raccoon and Penns Neck in 1762 and served these congregations until 1773, when he was recalled to Sweden. He was commissioned Vice-Dean of the Swedish Lutheran churches in America in 1769 and later served as Dean.

[16] Manatawny, Pennsylvania.

[17] Kingsessing (now part of Philadelphia). St. James Church of Kingsessing was founded as a branch of Gloria Dei Church of Philadelphia in 1760. Wrangel laid the cornerstone in 1762. Both churches are still in existence and are now known as "Old Swedes" churches.

[18] A reference to Luke 10:42: "One thing is needful . . . ." This and other Bible quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version (1952).

[19] Scull's Tavern was located in Long-a-Coming (now Berlin), on an old Indian trail to the seacoast, which later became the Egg Harbor Road. Started by Samuel Scull about 1761, it was kept by him, except for three years from 1766 to 1769, until his death in 1777. Charles S. Boyer, *Old Inns and Taverns in West Jersey* (Camden, 1962), p. 137.

This man Scull is a member of the English Church; he moved here from Egg Harbor. Little or no knowledge of God appears to dwell in this house; however, the people showed themselves to be attentive to my address on man's obligation so to care for the body that he does not thereby completely forget the soul.

We continued our journey another nine miles to another tavern called The Blue Anchor,[20] where we arrived at one o'clock. These people received me with great joy. The man is an Englishman, named Mattocks, but his wife is a Swede who was named Keen, the daughter of Mans Keen[21] from the Raccoon[22] congregation. Both were my faithful listeners during the time I preached in Raccoon, where they then lived. But they later moved down here in order to gain a better life in worldly things, in which purpose they had notably improved themselves. When I inquired about the condition of their souls, they answered with tears in their eyes that here they lived in a parched land where water was not to be found. I explained to them how a Christian ought to try to make up for the lack of hearing God's word by its diligent reading at home and by prayers to God. As these souls had some experience of God's grace in their hearts during the time they lived in Raccoon, it seemed that now this grace had come to life like a fire hidden under the ashes. They asked me to stay overnight on the return journey and to preach the following day in this vicinity, which I promised to do and appointed the day.

The country hereabouts has been inhabited only during the last twenty years. Previously there had been only wild, barren ground between Philadelphia and Egg Harbor, so that travelers had to provide themselves with food for both their horses and themselves when they came this way. The land sells for $10 a hundred acres[23] and the soil consists mainly of drift sand, which, however, produces reasonably good crops of maize and rye; but wheat does not grow especially fast. There are no meadows; but good wooded pasturage is available for the cattle throughout the summer. In the winter they bring their herds to the seaside in Egg Harbor, where they pay ten shillings a head for the winter; they fetch hay for the horses from the same place. They have to depend principally on the woods, which consist here of spruce, pine and cedar, for a livelihood; several sawmills are therefore located here, where boards and building lumber are sawed and shipped, partly by the river and partly by wagon, to Philadelphia. They also make shingles here (of Cedar *Cupressus Thyoides)* and charcoal. They also extract some tar. Oak also grows here but there is no hickory.

After dinner we continued our journey and traveled ten miles over a barren land, which is uninhabited, since the soil is very poor. The road is completely level without even the smallest hills. Nor are there any rocks or other stones, except small pebbles which lie among the sands. These are white and very fine. It seems very probable that all this land was once part of the sea; this is supported by the fact that when they dig wells here they often find oyster shells deep in the ground. In this land there are found more conclusive proofs of the theory that the water is still receding than anywhere in the world. We crossed a *Ceder Kiarr* which in English is called a cedar swamp. Inasmuch as such a swamp consists of moss-grown mud with a great many rivulets, sawmills are commonly built beside such cedar swamps if there is adequate water for them.

We finally caught sight of the Egg Harbor River, where there was a loading site for planks, boards and shingles. Toward evening we arrived at the home of a Swede named Carl Steelman, who lived by the highway. Around his house were high fences, on which were hung a considerable number of deer antlers; like trophies, they witnessed that here dwelt a mighty hunter. Here we were received with much love and feasted on Swedish venison. After we had eaten I began to address this numerous household, in the name of my Savior and Master, and descried a very great attentiveness among the old as well as the young. The man [Steelman] lamented, with tears in his eyes, that they here were ignorant as heathens of the only thing needful and that he had not seen a Swedish minister for twenty years. He entreated me to instruct his children, who were eight in number, five sons and three daughters. Most of them were full grown, but without baptism or Christian teaching; neither could they read much. My heart was moved with compassion and my mind was filled with confusion, when I saw such terrible darkness prevailing in this place; however, I lacked heart [to respond at once], and I urged them

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[20] The Blue Anchor tavern was located "on the old Indian Trail leading from the Delaware River through Long-a-Coming (Berlin) to the seacoast." Boyer, pp. 149-50.

[21] A Keen (originally Kyn) was among the earliest Swedish settlers on the Delaware and had many descendants. Mans Keen is mentioned several times by Peter Kalm, who apparently regarded "old Keen" as an authority on many subjects. See footnote 38, below.

[22] Wrangel consistently refers to Raccoon, though the name had been officially changed to Swedesboro in 1763.

[23] *10$ 100ds Tunnland* in the original.

to be present, one and all, at the house where I was to preach the next day, when I promised after the service I would undertake instruction of these children in the most essential articles of Christianity.

This Steelman was born into the Raccoon congregation, where many of his relatives of the same name still live. His father, Peter, was, however, born at a place called Senamensing,[24] which lies directly across from Pennypack [Creek] on the other side of the Delaware River. He moved down here sixty years ago and his children have since lived continuously at this place. His wife, whose name was Adams, is of Dutch extraction. Her father moved to Egg Harbor fifty years ago from the Government of New York and a place called Long Island. He related that three of his brothers, namely Matthew, John and Peter, also lived down here and that Matthew with all of his household had joined the Quaker set, which prevails in this part of the country. However, he promised to try and persuade this brother to come to my sermon, which was set for tomorrow.

The description my companion gave me of this household was this: that they had a very good name with everyone for honesty and that they led a quiet and upright life in their house. The man was particularly recognized for maintaining good order in his household, to all appearances, and his children as being the most obedient of all in the neighborhood. But so far as the fear of God was concerned, he believed that they knew little or nothing; he considered this to be the result of ignorance, but he opined that in this matter, too, they should be well disposed. This description I found to be in accord with what I myself learned. I was filled with wonder over the order that prevailed here and the respect and obedience which the children showed their parents, which seemed to flow from spontaneous love. Nothing is more common in this country than to see children, as soon as they are a little bit grown, show contempt and insubordination towards their parents.

After stopping here for three hours we continued our journey to a man named George May,[25] arriving in the evening. Here we were received with much rejoicing. The man is English and professes the High Church but his wife was nurtured in a Swedish home from childhood and hence speaks and understands Swedish. Here was a house full of children, of whom a large proportion were fully grown. These people complained feelingly that they lived in terrible darkness and seldom had an opportunity to hear God's word. This gave me the occasion to advise them of their duty to offset this lack by diligent reading of God's word in their home, and by meeting together on Sundays to hear the reading of God's word and to pray. I also learned to my distress that all the children were as yet unbaptized and in as great ignorance of Christian teaching as those just mentioned in Steelman's house. Since both the father and mother fervently desired that they might be instructed and baptized, I talked with those of the children who were full-grown, and admonished them to be present the following day at the house where I was to preach.

When I told this man [May] that hereafter, if it was their wish, they could expect a visit from our Ministerium three or four times a year, he rejoiced over it and promised to contribute to the building of a church if the others were so disposed. I discerned in these people a great appetite for the hearing of God's word and therefore I spent a good part of the night in pious conversation with them. After conducting prayer we went to our rest.

October 9.[26] Early Tuesday morning we received a message from a Swedish family that lived nearby. They asked whether the Swedish minister who had been expected had arrived; if so they dearly wished to see him that morning. I promised that I would come at once to visit them, and after we had eaten breakfast I set out with my companion for their house, about an English mile away. When we reached the house the man met me, and received me with tears of joy. His name was Carl Streng;[27] he was born into the Raccoon congregation, where he still has a brother, Lars, who is the church warden. His wife was a Cock, born into the Wicaco congregation. They had lived here for ten years and were now aged, but had no children. The older brother, Anders, who lived with them, was 85 years old. They used the Swedish language exclusively in their home and spoke it very well. They also had Swedish books which they used for family devotions. I

[24] Now Cinnaminson.

[25] Probably the son of George May, who first settled at the head of navigation on the Great Egg Harbor River in 1710, buying the land on which the village of May's Landing now stands. *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey,* ed. John W. Barber and Henry Howe (New York, 1844), p. 69.

[26] The date given by Wrangel at this point was October 8, making a second October 8, and the succeeding dates carried the error forward. Since certain events were described as occurring on a particular day of the week it is possible to establish the correct dates as beginning on Sunday, October 7, and ending on Tuesday, October 16. This error, and the text itself, suggest that the day book was not written up day by day but was completed upon Wrangel's return home.

[27] The Streng name is variously spelled Streng, Strang, Strang, Straeng, Streeng, Strieng, String, etc., in the records of the Raccoon congregation.

can scarcely express the heartfelt joy with which they received me. They told me it was now twenty years since they had seen a Swedish minister and that during that time they had never had an opportunity to celebrate the Lord's Supper. They now deeply longed to partake of this precious feast and since they heard I was coming they had tried devoutly to prepare themselves. My heart was stirred with compassion and I now felt well repaid for having undertaken the trip, when I was able to pass two hours in consoling conversation with these upright and simple souls. I promised them that on the following Sunday I would administer the Lord's Supper to them.

I then betook myself to the house where I was to preach; they also went, in a boat, down a small river that flows by here, called the Great Egg Harbor River. My companion, although he did not understand Swedish, was nevertheless deeply moved by the actions and tears of these people, which evidenced their joy. He also made the observation to me that they who had God's word in plenty did not know how to value such grace as well as those who suffered hunger therefor.

On the way to the house we passed a mill, the owner of which, a man named Ireland, sat outside his house as we came by and asked to speak to my companion. He was afflicted with consumption and appeared to be leaning toward the grave. Nevertheless he was very much weighted down by worldly affairs and he solicited my companion's official help in collecting an outstanding debt. The sheriff answered him that he was not there on this occasion to undertake such functions but had brought one here to them to discharge the debt they owed to their Maker and Redeemer. He urged him, with much love, to come along to the house where the preaching was to take place. But all this made little impression on him. I rejoiced to see with what eagerness this, my faithful companion, wished to see these people, to a man, come together to hear God's word. His state seemed to be that described by Paul in 2 Corinthians, the fifth verse.[28]

At ten o'clock we arrived at the house where I was to preach and found a large crowd ahead of us. My companion had chosen this house because it was roomy and centrally located for the Swedes who lived in the neighborhood. The owner was named Philip Scull; he was a relative of the Scull previously mentioned. He purported to belong to the English Church, but appeared to have little knowledge of the power of godliness.

After my companion had pointed out to me the Swedes who were present and I had talked with them briefly about their state, I conducted the service. I took as my text Acts 10:29[29] and attempted to present, first, that which should arouse a people to desire a visit by a servant of Christ, and, second, in what manner such a visit might be blessed. The people appeared attentive and several to be greatly moved. After the service I held instruction for those who desired to be baptized, while many others of the congregation were present. I discussed the object of Holy Baptism and what our Savior intended thereby, and I promised to explain the next day what was required of those who were to partake of this holy sacrament. I endeavored to present these important teachings in a practical way so that my words might act upon their will as well as upon their understanding.

A Swede by the name of James (Jacob) Steelman[30] who was present with his wife and children invited me after the service to his home, which was located down by the seashore. So, after we had eaten dinner, we left in company with him for his house. On the way we stopped to see a man named Blackman, who was married to this Steelman's sister. This man, who was born in New England, confesses to the Presbyterian faith and is a zealous champion of the same. Outwardly he shows himself a lover of the Evangelical doctrine, but since his way of life is not irreproachable but he rather lives openly in deeds of the flesh, he harms the Christian faith the more with his confession, since the people here as well as elsewhere are inclined to draw conclusions from the specific to the general. His wife, who had learned to know God through trial and tribulation, had asked my companion if I might preach in their house and tomorrow's sermon was arranged accordingly. She was sincerely glad to see me and talked with me about the condition of her soul with great candor. I marveled at finding, here in the middle of a barren land, a soul who had come so far in her Christianity. She had sought God in His holy word and had also read edifying books, combining her search with diligence in prayer, and thus with Mary had chosen the best part.

[28] Wrangel (or possibly the transcriber) has omitted the chapter reference. Perhaps it should be chapter 11, the fifth verse of which is, "I think I am not in the least inferior to these superlative apostles."

[29] "So when I was sent for, I came without objection. I ask then why you sent for me."

[30] Jacob is the Swedish equivalent of James. Wrangel uses the names interchangeably.

After we had stopped here for three hours we betook ourselves to James Steelman's house, where we arrived late in the evening. This man is a first cousin of the aforementioned Carl and was born at this place, to which his father had moved from Raccoon; he had taken over the land and lived among the Indians, without any other neighbors.[31] The wife is a Jones; she was born into the Raccoon congregation and is the only one in the house who speaks Swedish. They have seven children, two sons and five daughters. Three of the daughters are married and two live at home with their parents. Two of the daughters are married to brothers named Sommeso[32], who were brought up in the Quaker religion but who since their marriage outside the sect are, in accordance with the custom of the Quakers, excluded from their community. The father-in-law therefore asked me to speak with them so that, if possible, they might be shown the error of their ways and be baptized. To this end he promised to invite them to come to him during my stay here. He related further that he had two unbaptized children, a son and a daughter, aged 20 and 25, respectively. He wanted these also to be instructed and baptized, provided this was their own desire after hearing my explanation of baptism today. I therefore had a talk with them and found them sincerely desirous of being shown the way of salvation, of which they were completely ignorant, although they had nevertheless learned to read in the English language.

October 10. In the morning, before leaving for the house where I was to preach, I took the two who desired to be baptized and instructed them as to the manner in which they should prepare themselves for this important ceremony, at which the parents of the children appeared to be very much moved.

After conducting prayer we went together to the above-named Blackman's house where such a great multitude of people had assembled that the house, although quite large, could not hold them all. Several Quakers were also there, among them James Steelman's two sons-in-law. I preached on Matthew 9:38[33] and expounded first, Jesus' compassion for those who suffer from want of truth's word, and second, the way in which those who are in such want should conduct themselves before God to persuade Him to send His laborers among them, according to His own pleasure. I can't recall ever having seen greater emotion in any congregation where I have preached in this country than there now was here. Most of them shed copious tears and my heart was deeply stirred with praise to God the All-highest.

After the service I took those who were to be baptized and briefly explained to them in practical terms the plan of grace or the way in which God leads a sinner to Him. A majority of the congregation were also present. At this time I set my sermon for the coming Sunday in a house near the above-named Streng's, so that they might conveniently attend the service.

After we had eaten dinner we went to another place by the seaside where several Swedes were said to live. They were unable to come here, a distance of twelve English miles; therefore a sermon was arranged for the following day at the home of an Englishman named Danthy[34], who is the district judge here. We arrived at six o'clock in the evening and were received with much love. Immediately after our arrival this honorable man had his two sons, who lived nearby with their wives and children, summoned to him, and we spent the evening in pious conversation, prayer and praise to God. This man now told me, with knowing comprehension, of God's wonderful ways with him ever since childhood. He was born and brought up a Quaker and had in his childhood and early Youth lived in a place where there was little Christianity but a wealth of sinning. He thanked God who had graciously protected him from the first snare the devil early had set for him. When he was 20 years old he chanced to hear a sermon by an English minister which made a great impression on his heart. He then began to read good books whereby with God's grace his eyes more and more were opened so that finally he saw the errors that prevailed among the Quakers. Meanwhile he moved down here to Egg Harbor and when a short time later the Swedish minister Falck[35] came to visit the place he asked to be baptized. At this time the minister had

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[31] James Steelman's father was undoubtedly the James Steelman referred to in Federal Writers Project, *The Swedes and Finns in New Jersey* (Bayonne, 1938) : "The first Swede known to have settled on the Atlantic Coast was James Steelman, who founded the Swedish settlement at Great Egg Harbor: He had dwelt on the Delaware River, probably at Tacony [compare Wrangel's statement that he moved from Raccoon], until 1693, when he crossed New Jersey and made his way to the ocean front .... He also owned land at Absequam beach, now the site of Atlantic City." (P. 68.) The Steelman name survives in Steelmanville, Steelman's Landing, and other places in south Jersey.

[32] [That is, "Somers"].

[33] "Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest."

[34] [Undoubtedly Edward Doughty. Edward Doughty was appointed a "Justice of Gloucester", 16 March 1756, *N.J. Archives*, vol. 17, p. 3. Edward Doughty of Great Egg Harbor left a will dated 5 February 1766 (proved 1770) in which he named six sons and three daughters. In some handwriting scripts, an "n" is virtually indistinguishable from a "u", so perhaps Wrangel actually wrote "Dauthy" rather than "Danthy".]

[35] Records of the Penns Neck congregation contain an entry recording a number of baptisms in 1742 and 1743 by "Mr. Gabr. Falck."

admonished him diligently to read God's word in his house, to hold morning and evening prayers, and on Sundays to hold services in his house with the singing of hymns, prayer and reading from Burcket's commentaries on the New Testament, and from that time forward he had blessedly followed this advice. His children and grandchildren still gathered at his house every Sunday for divine services together with neighbors who were so inclined. He has six sons and three daughters, all full-grown, most of them married and living around him, so that when they all come together they make a fine congregation. His children are all promising and they show their desire to hear God's word. This man thus had a patriarchal blessing. He had become notably strengthened in true Christian power and practice through his brother, who had moved here from Manatany and had lived with him until his death. This man had, through Pastor Muhlenberg's preaching and personal conversations, been led to the way of salvation and had been baptized. Consequently, through continual conversations with him and his children, he [Muhlenberg] had accomplished much good among them.

Since I heard that a Swede named Jeremiah Steelman, a nephew of James, lived nearby I went there at eight o'clock in the evening in company with my host's son and my companion, Mr. Price. When we reached the house we heard the sound of music and dancing and when we came in we found the house filled with people, most of whom were drunk. A schoolmaster who was in the party came up to me at once and with many arguments tried to prove that this was an innocent pastime. I asked him then whether he considered himself and his company to be in a condition to meet the judge of the world if He should come to call them out of time into eternity that evening. He answered that he had not thought about it yet. This [Jeremiah] Steelman has three unbaptized children. When I talked to him about this he seemed totally indifferent and answered that he wanted to think about it. Similarly, his brother John who lives alongside him has five children, all unbaptized. His wife is a Quaker and hence is unwilling to have her children baptized. After I had borne witness to the people in the house against this sort of life I went back, filled with sorrow. Upon my return, Mr. Danthy told me that this was the usual way of life among the people here, and those who detest it are regarded as fanatics and hypocrites.

October 11. In the morning, after prayers, we went to visit one who was sick with dysentery. This illness had not been known here for many years, but had now been brought among them by a ship that had landed sick people here. They all had such a dread of this disease that no one ventured to accompany me except a Negro who showed me the way. When I came to the house I found two children and the mother in the greatest wretchedness. The husband had also been afflicted with the same illness but he was now better. When I talked to the wife about eternity, and asked her if she were prepared, in the event that God was pleased to call her through this illness, she answered, "Yes." But when I questioned her further on what she built her hope of a future life, I found her so ignorant of that which related to her peace that she hardly knew even that she had a soul. I tried briefly therefore to show her the way to become reconciled with God. She seemed to be much moved by my words and after I had in prayer laid her great need upon a merciful Savior's heart I left her. I could do nothing more than entreat the dear Shepherd of souls that he might yet have compassion over these poor sheep who in a dark desert go astray without knowing their Shepherd's voice. The Lord have mercy on them!

Upon my arrival [at Judge Danthy's] I found the people gathered. The James and Carl Steelman households were there as well as several other Swedes. One of Mr. Danthy's sons who had a good voice and who also understood the English hymnal was now sexton. I preached on Isaiah 8:13[36] and sought, first, to show that while the Gospels' teaching calls us to enjoy the freedom of God's children, the all-highest nevertheless inculcates in us the fear of God's holy majesty; also that the very act of redemption in Christ Jesus has for its purpose the glorification of God's precious attributes, which demand our deepest reverence; second, how we in all of our conduct should manifest this fear of God. In applying the text I sought to show how incompatible the life that was led here was with these teachings. After the sermon I took those who were to be baptized. I repeated briefly what I had previously discussed, presented some simple questions, seeking thereby to ascertain their condition, and finished with a consideration of the promises which those who are baptized make before God. I admonished them finally that after they were baptized they should seek to increase in the knowledge of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, through the diligent reading of God's word. I promised to provide them with catechisms.

After the service my host told me that there was a wedding in the neighborhood and that they were waiting for him to perform the marriage ceremony. He should have been there in the forenoon but had refused; he also had urged the people to attend the service, whereupon one of them answered that they would rather hear the fiddle than the preacher. In the

[36] "But the LORD of hosts, him you shall regard as holy; let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."

absence of a minister, weddings are legally performed here, as in other places in Jersey, by a district judge, after the Governor has given the parties his written permission to marry; no publication of the banns is required. He further related that the people arrange their weddings in such a way that neighbors come together from a distance of twenty or thirty miles to eat and drink and dance for three or four days, and that this manner of celebrating a wedding was introduced by the Swedes, who first settled this country. Thus is this evil practice from the custom of our fatherland preserved only here, while in our other Swedish congregations, praise God, it has been abolished.

After dinner I went in company with Mr. Danthy's son, James Steelman, and Mr. Price to a place called Little Egg Harbor, where a sermon was fixed for the following day. The reason for this trip was that while I was with the above-mentioned George May I heard through a man from this place that three Swedes by the name of Henricksson, who had wives and children, lived there; also two brothers named Homan, who were said to live completely like savage heathens, without the slightest knowledge of God; they had no other homes than hovels in the woods. They live by hunting and what they earned they were said to turn into rum, through the drinking of which they were destroying both body and soul. I therefore sent word with the same man and let the people there know that, *V.D.*,[37] I would preach on the following day. He also promised that he would arrange that these wretched Swedes might be present. The compassionate thought that our dear Savior gives in Luke 15[38] of his pity for a sheep that has strayed from the fold encouraged me now, calling upon the grace of the same sovereign Shepherd, to travel with pleasure twenty English miles in order to attempt the rescue of these wretched souls from their false path.

We arrived late in the evening at the home of an Irishman named Elisha Clark, by religion a Presbyterian. We were affectionately received and well treated in this house. He lived in the middle of the forest where, by the river called Little Egg Harbor, he had built a saw and flour mill. The soil here is very poor, so that no grain will grow. Nevertheless this man had by means of these mills acquired a fine property. He buys grain at places where it is to be found, grinds it here, and then sends the flour by water on this river which has its outlet in the ocean, to the West Indian Islands. In the same way, he saws lumber and beams, which are loaded on ships here and carried to the same places. Consequently, no one lives here except those who work for him in the woods, either cutting timber or making shingles. Among these were the above-named Swedish men Henricksson, who lived here on Clark's land and worked with him for hire.

What especially delighted me here was to find that the man with his entire household feared God. He had built a small wooden church on his property, near the house, and two or three times a year there was preaching by Presbyterian or other ministers. Between times he holds services every Sunday for his people, with talks, prayer and singing. Hence I spent the evening and a large part of the night, to my pleasure, in edifying conversation. He told me also that he had let the aforementioned Swedes know of my arrival. But he feared that they would not present themselves, since they absolutely never asked about God or His holy word. He said the aforementioned brothers were now gray-haired willful sinners, since they had lived from their youth as heathens, and spent their time in hunting and drinking. He had recently taken it upon himself to speak to one of them about their approaching end, with its great responsibility, and received the following ungodly reply: one finds in a tannery as many calfskins as oxhides. What terror this aroused in me can readily be imagined. However, we included them now in our prayers to God, which we conducted together, and thus went to our repose. But since I could sleep little or not at all I thought constantly about how I might with due caution win these souls.

October 12. In the morning, after prayers and after we had eaten breakfast, we went out to see the place and the mills. About half a mile away we saw the loading site on the river, where more than twenty ships now lay to receive the products of the district. There was a tavern run by an Irishman by the name of Wescott,[39] who appeared to be making money to the harm of others and with little concern about God. At ten o'clock the people gathered and when we got to the Church we found it completely filled with the seafolk and laborers who lived here. I Preached on Jeremiah 8:20[40] and sought to show that just as it is sorrowful indeed for a farmer when the harvest season is ended and his barns are empty, so it is also for a sinner when the time of grace is nearly ended and his conversion is still undone. Second, to show what such a sinner should do when he makes a reckoning and sees his wretchedness. But to my greatest sorrow the expected Swedes

[37] An inversion of D.V., for *Deo Volente* (God Willing).

[38] The parable of the lost sheep.

[39] Wescott's tavern was located at a settlement known as "The Forks," near Batsto. It was kept by-Colonel Richard Wescott (Wescoat) from about 1761 until 1781, when he moved to May's Landing. Boyer, pp. 155-56.

[40] "The Harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved."

were not present, and though after the service, with my host Elisha Clark, I rode up to their shanties in the woods, I could not catch sight of them; it appeared instead that they assiduously kept out of the way. Nevertheless I comforted myself with the thought that I had at least, to the glory of my Savior, been able to bear witness to them, and with the hope that the seed that had been planted here in His name might bear fruit with someone.

After dinner I again returned with my companion to James Steelman's house. On the way I stopped at the above-mentioned Danthy's son's home, where I baptised four children. On the way we saw a rattlesnake, which James Steelman killed; after cutting off its head we took it home with us. My companion Price then told me how one of his horses had been bitten by a rattlesnake on this road last year and had died within ten minutes. Steelman told me that he had seen one of his relatives who had been bitten by this snake, whose entire body after death had blue spots; another had also been bitten by the same snake, but he had the presence of mind immediately to take his knife and carve out a piece of his leg around the bite, through which his life was spared. We also killed on the way another snake called a Horn snake, so-called because he has on his head a spine that resembles a horn. This snake is larger than a rattlesnake, is black in color with blue spots, and is considered to be the most poisonous of all snakes. Steelman related that he had seen an Indian provoke such a snake and then let him coil around a large oak tree, which withered completely away within three-quarters of an hour.[41]

We traveled over a sand barren which was overgrown with a plant the English call Mirtell [myrtle], but is a kind of *pors* [in Swedish]. They use its berries to make the beautiful green Mirtell [sic] wax, so-called, which is mentioned in Kalm's travels, Volume II.[42] We came back finally at ten o'clock in the evening.

October 13. Early in the morning we went out to the ocean where we first rowed over a bay formed by a long narrow island which lies out in the ocean, about half a mile from the mainland. Providence seems to have intended this island as a protection for the mainland against the ocean waves, which otherwise would make their homes insecure, since the loose sand of which the soil is composed would soon be washed away by the violence with which the waves strike the land. This island, which is overgrown with trees, also holds off the chill winds from the ocean which in winter would make their seaside houses more than a little uncomfortable. However, now in the intolerable heat of summer they have a pleasant coolness from the ocean. Out of the bay we took oysters, which are found here in such abundance that in half an hour we had half filled the boat. We also took quantities of clawed crayfish with a specially prepared scoop. The sea was nearly covered with all kinds of sea fowl such as wild geese, wild ducks, sea gulls, etc., etc. One is permitted to shoot as many as he wants. After we landed on the island and walked about a quarter of a mile, the width of the island, we came to the great ocean, and drank of its salt water; it is considered healthful and therefore a great many people, with various illnesses, come here in the spring and summer for two or three weeks to bathe in the water and to drink it. The beaches were covered with mussels, snails and coral, of which I gathered a whole pile. We also saw a kind of crayfish that was 1-1/2 feet in diameter. It was similar to the clawed crayfish but the shell had the form of a horseshoe, wherefore it is also called the hoof by the people here. They use the shells as scoops to bail out their punts and boats, but the meat is not eaten. By the seaside we saw a kind of snipe.[43] When the waves receded these ran down to catch the insects that were thrown up; as soon as the waves came back again they ran before them out of the way, and so continued for several hours. This was very amusing to watch.

After we had strolled with the greatest of pleasure for two hours and had slaked our thirst with the wild grapes that grow on the island, we betook ourselves homeward. [We caught] several fish called Sheeps Head or *Far Hufwuden*, so-called because the head greatly resembles a sheep. They have functional teeth, otherwise the body resembles an ide.[44] The meat is very white and tastes good. We also shot two wild geese and several other feathered creatures, so that after four hours' absence we came home with a rich supply of foodstuffs. Thus does the merciful God raise His hand in blessing over these inhabitants, although they know Him so slightly. Oh, that the time may come when His blessing over them may be equally rich in spiritual measure!

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[41] Tales of this kind were not uncommon and apparently they were believed and circulated "by respectable citizens whose veracity might not openly be questioned at least . . . ." See Professor Adolph B. Benson's introduction to *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York, 1937 ; republished 1967).

[42] Peter Kalm (1716-1779), a naturalist and pupil of Linnaeus, sought in America plants and seeds that might be useful in Sweden. An account of his travels, from 1748 to 1751, was published in Stockholm in 1753 and was speedily translated into German. An English translation appeared in 1770 and an American version in 1937.

[43] The sandpiper

[44] A freshwater carp-like fish of northern Europe.

Upon our arrival we found the house full of people who had come to see the Sacrament of Baptism performed, since James Steelman's two children were now to be baptized. Those present included several Quakers, who doubtless had come out of curiosity, among them my host's two sons-in-law. Before conducting the baptismal ceremony I gave those present, after conducting prayer, a talk on Romans 6. I showed them the blessing that a Christian obtains through baptism, and I concluded with an exhortation to those who were to be baptized. A German of the Lutheran Church, who lived in the neighborhood, also brought three children to be baptized. All of those present seemed very attentive but particularly the parents of the children. My companion said that this was the first time this Holy Act had made such a moving impression on him.

After conducting the baptism I talked with James Steelman's two sons-in-law, who seemed not far from being fully convinced of the necessity of baptism, but they said that they would like to delay until I came down here another time. My good hosts now expressed, with tears, their thankfulness to God that they had regained the hope of seeing Swedish ministers among them, and added that they wished to spend their remaining days at a place where there was a greater opportunity to hear God's word. To this end they would gladly sell their property and move up to my congregation, although in temporal matters they had here all that they could wish. The property that they occupy here is considered to be worth £1200 and is certainly the best plantation in this place. I exhorted them meanwhile to employ the grace God bestowed on them, and sought to show the necessity of family devotions. I also promised to send them some edifying books in the English language for the advancement of the same work.

October 14. In the morning, after conducting prayers, I took farewell of my good hosts, and went in company with them to the aforementioned Scull's house, where the public service was to be held. We found such a large crowd of people assembled that a fourth of them were unable to find room in the house. I preached on the Apocalypse 3:20[45] and presented, first, the pains which our Savior takes in bringing us wretched sinners to Him; second, our obligation for so much grace. The most high God seemed to be notably present on this occasion with His grace. The people were attentive. James Steelman and his household in particular were very much moved, so that they shed many tears. After the service I baptized fifteen children and when I had eaten dinner I went to Carl Streng's to administer the Lord's Holy Communion to his household. The aged Anders Streng glorified God, with praise that He had permitted him to live to celebrate once more the remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ and he seemed, like a Simeon, now satisfied to depart in peace. I read the confession and administered the sacrament in Swedish.

They then expressed their ardent desire to come up to one of the Swedish congregations in order to spend the little time remaining to them within a Christian fellowship and under the means of grace. They asked me to talk to my companion, Price, about helping them to sell their place, after which they wished, in the name of the Lord, to move from this place.

It made me rejoice to hear them express their concern for the one thing needful and I spent several hours with them, with innermost satisfaction. I promised that upon my return home I would send them Bald's meditations on the Passion, to the furtherance of their family devotions. With these aged Christians I found proof of the bliss of being trained in Christianity in childhood, for the fruit they now bore was the product of the blossom of youth. They had been well instructed in the basic truths of our Evangelical Lutheran faith, and had also learned from their parents to hold their own family devotions. Consequently, even in this desolate land, though separated from the means of grace, they have remained steadfast in their forefathers' faith and in communion with their precious Savior, while others who have had no such knowledge have been tossed like a reed that drifts hither and thither with the weather. The Lord grant that this so essential part of our cherished office here in this land, the teaching of children, be furthered in our congregations before it is entirely too late.

We now went from here to the frequently mentioned George May's and found there ahead of us several of their neighbors, among them one by the name of Dalanger, whose parents were of the French Huguenots, who left their fatherland for the sake of the Protestant religion. He had now in turn left this faith which his fathers had valued so highly, and had joined the Quakers, a consequence of ignorance. I explained to him that such an apostasy could be justified only if founded upon complete conviction.

[45] Revelation 3:20: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any one hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me."

The rest of the time was used for conversation with those who were to be baptized the following day. On this occasion a Quaker who had attended my previous instructions regarding baptism came to me and asked that he be baptized with the others tomorrow. After I had sought through conversation to ascertain his intent and sincerity, I gladly granted permission, and we finally concluded our conversation with prayer and praise to God.

October 15. After conducting prayer we went, in company with the entire [May] household to Carl Steelman's, where the sermon had been appointed, after which his children along with George May's were in the Lord's name to be admitted to baptism and the Christian faith. We arrived at ten o'clock and after the people were assembled I preached on Christ's conversation with Nicodemus, John 3, and showed how important baptism was in Christ's eyes, also that the Savior even at his ascension to the Father instituted it as a lasting means of grace, as manifested by Jesus' explicit command as well as the apostles' practice. In application of the text I showed how necessary it was to be in a proper state or to possess a living faith in Christ to be able to receive the promised blessing through this Sacrament. After the sermon, and when I was about to begin the baptismal ceremony, Carl Steelman's wife asked to speak to me. With bitter tears she told me that she herself was unbaptized and that she was convinced of the necessity of this sacrament. She begged me therefore to let her participate along with her children, which permission I granted to her. With what stirring of the heart I now performed this holy ceremony I cannot describe. The devotion shown by those who were to be baptized and all those present and the moving spectacle - to see a gray-haired mother with five full-grown children stand before the Lord, overflowing with love of the Savior - was enough to move a heart of stone. After I had thus baptized twelve adults and four children, who however were old enough that they all stood, the ceremony was concluded with prayer and praise. The Lord let these souls now abide in Jesus as the vine to which they have been grafted.

After we had eaten dinner and had taken a moving farewell of those present, among whom were the aforementioned Streng and his wife, we betook ourselves, in the Lord's name, on our homeward journey, having promised, in response to their insistent requests, to visit them again in the spring, God willing. We arrived in the afternoon at the Blue Anchor, where we were joyfully received. I baptized their children that evening and spent the remaining time in conversation regarding the one thing needful.

A man of the neighborhood who had known of my arrival came with his wife to see me. When the man asked to speak with me alone; he told me that his wife wished to be baptized along with their children. I then had a talk with her and found that she had for several years been a questing soul and through the reading of good books had obtained a good knowledge; she had a perceptible conviction of the importance of baptism, which worked upon her will. I told her to be present at the preaching set for the morning, when I promised I would baptize her. After conducting prayer together we parted.

October 16. After conducting prayer, we went in company with this household to the place where the sermon had been arranged, six miles in a homeward direction, and found many people assembled. Among them were many of my hearers in Gloucester. I preached on Psalm 118, verse 17,[46] and spoke of a Christian's only hope, which could make this pilgrimage endurable. Of the foregoing word, verse 14,[47] I showed how it was a great misfortune, without that hope of a future, to possess what the world calls happiness and success in this life.

After dinner I baptized the aforementioned wife with her three children and four other children. The above-mentioned German Lutheran, Neuman [Nyman], now invited us home for dinner. During our stay at his house I found, on conversation with his children, that my simple sermons in Gloucester had been of some blessing to them. Praised be His name who alone gives growth to that which we as His servants plant and water! After we had been here for two hours we betook ourselves homeward and arrived at my companion's house at 4 p.m. Together we now praised the merciful God for the grace He had shown us on this journey. Price accompanied me to Gloucester, from where I went by boat up to my house. I got there at twilight, after having traveled 220 English miles, borne by a merciful Savior as if on the wings of an eagle, both out and back without the slightest harm. The weather for this late season was, contrary to our expectations,

[46] "I shall not die, but I shall live, and recount the deeds of the LORD."
[47] "The LORD is my strength and my song; he has become my salvation."

very agreeable, so that we never had an hour's storm. If now anything good has, in this way been accomplished, through Him who is mighty in our weakness, may His holy name be glorified and praised both now and forever. Amen.